



No. 1,238 London, Mar. 18, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

# Civil Defence 'A Monstrous Fraud' RATEPAYER SUES COUNCIL

AS DISARMAMENT TALKS OPEN

## Macmillan urged 'Scrap the Lot'

"GIVE a lead to the world by announcing that Britain will totally disarm within the next four years, or as soon after as is practically possible."

This call went from the British Peace Pledge Union to the Prime Minister on the eve of the meeting of the 10-Power Disarmament Committee at Geneva this week.

To back up this demand for total disarmament the PPU have called a mass meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, March 31, at which the speakers will include Dr. Donald Soper, Victor Gollancz and Michael Tippett.

*Full text of PPU statement and details of Central Hall meeting—back page.*

## Quit NATO

*From a Correspondent.*

THE withdrawal of Britain from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was added to the official aims of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in a resolution passed by an overwhelming majority at the Campaign's annual general meeting held in St. Pancras Town Hall on March 12 and 13.

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Local government authorities in Britain are worried at the prospect of a revolt by ratepayers against useless expenditure on Civil Defence. Peace News reports below the courageous stand being made by individuals in Britain and the USA. They may well be the first wave of a new civil disobedience campaign.

MICHAEL BARCLAY, A CIVIL ENGINEER, HAS SUED HAMPSTEAD BOROUGH COUNCIL DEMANDING THE REFUND OF 2s. 2d., THE PORTION OF HIS RATE PAYMENT WHICH GOES ON CIVIL DEFENCE.

In a statement to Peace News on Monday he said :

"Civil Defence is a monstrous fraud designed to deceive the public into believing that there is some defence against nuclear weapons."

A first public hearing of the case will take place at Bloomsbury County Court on Monday, May 23.

At an earlier hearing at the same court the Council's application to have the case struck out on technical legal grounds was refused by the Court Registrar. The Council then briefed a rating specialist and called in the Home Office. They appealed against the Registrar's decision which was none the less upheld by a Judge in Chambers.

## One Bomb attack

In order to satisfy the Council's demand for further and better particulars regarding his case Mr. Barclay declared he would rely on details from Government and other official documents to show how ineffective would be the Council's Civil Defence ser-

## No rates for Civil Defence

NORMAN WALLACE, local supporter of Finchley and Friern Barnet Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, appeared in Highgate Magistrates' Court on Jan. 27.

He had been summoned by Finchley Borough Council for refusing to pay that proportion of his rates—2s. 4d.—which was spent on Civil Defence.

The Court ordered Mr. Wallace to pay the 2s. 4d. and 5s. costs. Having felt that his point had been made by the publicity gained through the local



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Speaker after speaker reaffirmed that the Campaign's main aim of unilateral nuclear disarmament could not be achieved unless at the same time Britain left alliances based on nuclear strategy.

After a keen debate on direct action and civil disobedience the conference decided that it could not commit the Campaign to supporting these demonstrations but that it "should pay close attention to proposed activities of the Direct Action Committee with a view to co-operating in them," while maintaining the Campaign's law-abiding character.

Other topics of debate included co-operation with other organisations, the building up of an international movement, a large-scale publicity campaign in Britain and the setting up of a working committee to investigate the problems arising from unilateral nuclear disarmament and to propose some solutions.

## U.S. tax refuser

EROSEANNA ROBINSON, US athlete and social worker, was sentenced on February 18 in the Federal District Court in Chicago to a year and a day on a charge of criminal contempt. For several years Miss Robinson has refused, on pacifist grounds, to pay Federal taxes or make tax returns.

The great proportion of Federal taxes are spent on armaments.

Arrested on January 26 by US marshals and committed to Cook County Jail after being brought bodily to the courtroom, she has refused co-operation with the authorities by refusing food and later water. On February 14 she was removed from prison to hospital where the Federal Authorities

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The Court ordered Mr. Wallace to pay the 2s. 4d. and 5s. costs. Having felt that his point had been made by the publicity gained through the local press he finally paid.

Speaking in court he said:

"I think that Civil Defence is a fraud. I am not questioning the good faith of Civil Defence workers, but I think that the Government is grossly misleading the public."

Local CND Secretary Mrs. Marjorie Collingwood, of Hertford Rd., N.2, has written to the Finchley Press saying she is considering a similar protest.



Norman Wallace

## jailed for a year

commenced forced feeding. In a letter from the hospital, where mail is not censored, she wrote that she had been threatened with transfer to a mental institution.

Pickets and vigils are being held in Chicago, Washington and New York City outside the offices of the Internal Revenue Service where special leaflets entitled "Refuses to Pay War Taxes" are being distributed.

The US Internal Revenue Service has served summonses on three others to make declarations of their incomes for tax purposes. Walter Gormly of Mount Vernon, Iowa, in refusing to obey the summons stated to the revenue collector: "The money you seek to collect could be used to injure and destroy life on this planet."

At an earlier hearing at the same court the Council's application to have the case struck out on technical legal grounds was refused by the Court Registrar. The Council then briefed a rating specialist and called in the Home Office. They appealed against the Registrar's decision which was none the less upheld by a Judge in Chambers.

## One Bomb attack

In order to satisfy the Council's demand for further and better particulars regarding his case Mr. Barclay declared he would rely on details from Government and other official documents to show how ineffective would be the Council's Civil Defence services in the event of an H-bomb attack.

In practice Civil Defence plans were based on the assumption that only one Bomb would be dropped. According to the Holifield Report, 1959, published by the US Government, a medium A-bomb attack would destroy one quarter of the population in the USA. Many people especially in rural areas would survive if they had fallout shelters.

The density of Britain's population is, however, nearly 20 times greater than that of the USA.

In Britain relief services would no longer function and life would become impossible because of

1. The effects of initial blast.
2. Lethal radio-active fall-out covering most of the country.
3. Epidemics arising from the disruption of normal public services.

In a random poll conducted in Hampshester by the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament it was evident that there was great ignorance of the Civil Defence plans in the borough and a prevailing mood of fatalism with regard to the chances of surviving an H-bomb attack.

Michael Barclay's case has already received publicity in the local press and two



Michael Barclay

national dailies and will, no doubt, receive more on May 23. This has, however, been achieved at considerable cost. If the case is won, costs for Mr. Barclay will amount to about £100. If it is lost, costs against him may be anything up to £300.

Notice of a similar claim has been sent to Amersham (Bucks.) Rural District Council by Mr. Hans Lobstein, of 12, The Green, Jordans, claiming the return of that part of his rates spent on Civil Defence.

Mr. Barclay, whose home is at Trellis Cottage, Grove Place, London, N.W.3, is the son of John Barclay, secretary of International Help for Children, and a former Peace Pledge Union Organiser.

## NO TAXES

## FOR WAR

AN Edinburgh taxpayer, Miss Sybil White, is reported to have refused for four years to pay that part of her income tax which is spent on arms.

The authorities have threatened to send bailiffs to take some of her furniture and sell it, but so far the tax authorities have got round the problem by sending in a receipt in a way that covers them. Thus if the total tax for 1958 is £30 and £25 only is paid, when £25 is paid for the 1959 bill

a receipt is sent for £5 for 1958 and £20 for 1959.

"She believes that the authorities are very unwilling to draw attention to the issue by making a public fuss," a friend told the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, who are collecting information on the subject, "and that it is well worth while to protest in any way to the Inland Revenue as they have to report on all letters they receive."

**Direct action****at Catfoss**

FURTHER details of the radical non-violent demonstration at Catfoss Rocket Base in Yorkshire on July 30 are now available.

The Preparatory Committee for a Northern Radical Demonstration reports that demonstrators will trespass on Air Ministry property and attempt to obstruct a runway which is in use as part of the base. No scaling of fences involving damage to property will be attempted. If possible, they say, the main gate in the inner security fence will be obstructed.

Camping equipment will be needed as the demonstration will be phased—demonstrators going in in groups one after another.

**FINAL BRIEFING**

If demonstrators are given a conditional discharge as at Northampton Court after the Harrington project they will return to the base and continue the demonstration.

A final briefing conference arranged in co-operation with the 500-strong Hull branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is to be held in Hull on Friday, July 29. The Yorkshire Region CND is considering plans for a supporters' demonstration at the time of the direct action project.

# Harry was a conchie

**By Peter Sinclair**

WHEN I was a very small boy a World War was in progress. I had no idea what all the trouble was about at the time; all I knew was that my father no longer lived with us and that a pub, situated a few doors from my home, was reduced to ruins by a Nazi bomb. (Many people were proud that Herr Hitler had picked out our tiny village as a target—until the papers informed us that the minor Blitz was merely an error of judgment on the part

# PORTRAIT OF WAR

**ALAN LOVELL reviews**

**Night and Fog**, Gala Film Distributors. Now showing at the Berkeley Cinema, London.

"**NIGHT and Fog**" was made in 1955 to mark the tenth anniversary of the liberating of the concentration camps. It was directed by Alain Resnais, who also directed "**Hiroshima, Mon Amour.**"

The film opens by showing the concentration camps as they are to-day, decaying, disused buildings surrounded by barbed wire fences. They remind one of the disused military camps that are still dotted around England. Then suddenly we are thrown back into the horror of these camps. Using newsreels, photographs, and documents, Resnais builds up the terrifying picture of what went on in these camps. Using the method that he was to develop in "**Hiroshima, Mon Amour.**" he cuts between past and present, so interweaving the two.

Resnais' intentions in making the film are fairly clear (and made even clearer by the commentary). Although the concentration camps no longer function, they should not be forgotten. They are a permanent reminder of man's inhumanity.

But he says more than this. This kind of inhumanity could happen again though not perhaps in the form of the concentration camps. Although no new form is very

clearly pointed to, it is obvious that Renais has in mind the possibility of nuclear war.

Unfortunately this last point is made in a rather heavy handed way by the commentary. Having re-created the horror of the death camps, Resnais is unable to make the further point visually—no doubt this is because of the shortness of the film.

The film also raises the question "Who was responsible?" but rather confuses it by

## The failure of violence in Ireland

**From DENIS BARRITT**

"ONCE the 1916 Revolution occurred there either had to be partition or civil war; in the event we had both."

Mr. Michael McKeown, the Secretary of the newly formed National Unity Party in Northern Ireland, followed this statement with the view that if Ireland had not resorted to force the land could still have remained united and would by now have achieved a measure of freedom.

The National Unity Party has been formed with the intention of maintaining (among the Roman Catholic minority) a constructive policy in opposition to the reigning Unionist party; so far the Nationalists have been content merely to "oppose"—Government, Constitution and State. This new group takes the realistic position of realising that to unite the island an ideal must be found which can satisfy also the million-odd Northern Protestants.

The occasion for Mr. McKeown's remarks was a public debate with the official opposition from the Republic of Ireland, the Fine Gael party, on the motion "That 1916 was unnecessary." The Fine Gael party speakers from Dublin held, in answer, that

a crude anti-German bias—very much like that Mr. John Braine displayed at the recent Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting in the Central Hall. It is not that one wants to take the attitude "the poor Germans, they can't really be blamed for these horrors." The German responsibility for the concentration camps is clear. What I am saying is that the question of responsibility cannot be solved by putting *all* the blame on the Germans. In so far as "**Night and Fog**" does this, it gives a faulty answer to its own question.

Another film that peace groups might well consider showing is Pierre Kast's "**The Disasters of War.**"\* This is an art film based on Goya's drawings. By careful selection of drawings and details of drawings it recreates the savage feeling of Goya's originals. The face of war is clear in this film and it is not a face that is confined to the eighteenth century. Goya's portrait of war is as relevant today (more, perhaps) as when it was first created. Further comment on this film would be superfluous. See it and I am sure you will never forget it.

\*Available from the Distribution Department, British Film Institute, 164, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2.

## Books received

**The Revolt in Tibet**, by Frank Moraes. Macmillan, 10s. 6d.

**Chartist Studies**, edited by Asa Briggs. Macmillan, 42s.

**Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (Vol. 2)**. Publications Dept., Government of India, 16s. 6d.

**The Political Quarterly** (Special Number on Defence.) 8s. 6d.

**An Unfinished Autobiography**, Gilbert Murray. Allen & Unwin, 25s.

## NEW SHERWOOD SCHOOL, EPSOM

A Co-educational, progressive, parent-owned school, emphasising co-operation rather than competition, takes day and boarding pupils 5 to 18. EPSOM 9619

# Harry was a Conchie

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WHEN I was a very small boy a World War was in progress. I had no idea what all the trouble was about at the time; all I knew was that my father no longer lived with us and that a pub, situated a few doors from my home, was reduced to ruins by a Nazi bomb. (Many people were proud that Herr Hitler had picked out our tiny village as a target—until the papers informed us that the minor Blitz was merely an error of judgment on the part of the German bomb aimer, the real target was a power station twelve miles away).

But that's beside the point. Prior to the "opening of hostilities" we had a window-cleaner called Harry. Enjoying a complete monopoly of the windows in our village, he had become fairly prosperous with a car and a little bungalow and a Hungarian wife.

Harry spent most of his time at the Tabernacle—a tiny hut constructed entirely of wood which provided the only opposition in the hamlet to the larger C of E which was presided over by the Rev. Mr. Parkinson (who was Hon. Padre of the local Territorials). The men couldn't understand why he spent most of his time at the Tabernacle (his Hungarian wife was exceedingly attractive), but the women, who gladly supplied him with hot water during the wintertime, respected him because he was "so religious."

Then, as I said, the British and the Germans started fighting, lights went out, my father disappeared and so did Harry.

The women started washing their own windows. Harry no longer came along with his bucket and long ladder, no longer gave me sweets and allowed me to "help" him by standing on the bottom rung as he cleaned the upstairs windows.

I missed him and asked my mother where he had gone.

"Has he gone to be a soldier, mum?" I enquired one day.

"No," said my mother, "he's a conchie."

"A bloody conchie," put in my very outspoken grandfather.

"What's a conchie?" I asked.

"Oh, it's . . . it's . . . nothing," said mother.

My grandfather, however, was determined that my political education should start immediately. And, anyway, he had simply detested the Kaiser.

"A conchie is a coward. A man who stays at home when the other lads are away at the front fighting."

I was dumbfounded. Harry scared! I could not believe it. Any man who could climb three storeys and whistle was no coward in my book.

But I did not argue. Nobody argued with grandad—except grandma.

THE war progressed. I forgot about Harry in all the excitement of sirens, blackouts and evacuees from London who called you "moit." Then one day it was all over and everyone was putting two fingers up at each other, and father came home with a new suit and a thumb less.

Eventually I grew up and left home, going to live two hundred miles away.

Recently I went back to visit my family. Everything in the village was just as it had always been. The old men were sitting on the long, low wall outside the "Red Man," the women were hanging out clothes to dry in the Big Field and Harry—yes, Harry—was washing the windows of my old home. A little grey around the temples, but still whistling as he climbed the ladder. A little boy was standing on the second rung---helping.

"But mother," I said, "I thought you all refused to let Harry clean your windows because he wouldn't fight?"

"Oh," answered mum, "that's nearly twenty years ago lad, nearly twenty years."

ARMED with the intention of maintaining (among the Roman Catholic minority) a constructive policy in opposition to the reigning Unionist party; so far the Nationalists have been content merely to "oppose"—Government, Constitution and State. This new group takes the realistic position of realising that to unite the island an ideal must be found which can satisfy also the million-odd Northern Protestants.

The occasion for Mr. McKeown's remarks was a public debate with the official opposition from the Republic of Ireland, the Fine Gael party, on the motion "That 1916 was unnecessary." The Fine Gael party speakers from Dublin held, in answer, that because the British Liberal Government showed that they were going back on their word to the Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster (during the 1914-18 War), the democratic method had failed and that there was no course left to Ireland but to revolt.

## Gandhi

The policies of Griffith (leader of the movement for Irish independence at the beginning of this century) and Gandhi were compared. The Southern speakers maintained that Gandhi was able to succeed because of the lesson the British Government had learnt in Ireland.

It is interesting that the tide of events should bring the National Unity Party to enunciate what was in effect a pacifist argument, and that against all traditional nationalist thinking as this was, that they should gain, on the show of hands, as many as 41 votes against 72. Among those voting against were some extreme nationalists; it was noticeable that they gave the National Unity speakers an attentive hearing and reserved their vociferous heckling for the Fine Gael speakers—that they were not doing enough in the Republic to "liberate" the North.

## Quote

*Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, one can offer battle to any combination of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia.—M. K. Gandhi.*

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# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## RANK PROPAGANDA

**THE** latest film in the series "Look at Life" (made by the Rank Organisation) deals with Britain's nuclear deterrent. After a private preview of the film last week, Mr. Watkinson, the Minister of Defence, and the top Air Force chiefs who saw it announced they were very pleased.

According to reports, they have every reason to be, since the film is a straightforward panegyric of present defence policy, and particularly of the RAF contribution to it. So keen is the film to show the virtues of defence policy that it even invents some virtues!

The "Look at Life" series always seems harmless enough. A normal film in the series lasts for about ten minutes and deals with subjects like coffee bars, horse racing, etc. They are shown in almost all the Rank cinemas in Britain and seem designed to encourage cinema audiences to buy ice cream rather than watch the film (you make more money that way).

Just because of their harmlessness they need watching. Every now and then in series of this kind you get straightforward propaganda for official policies which goes unnoticed and unremarked just because of the seeming harmlessness of most of the films. The newsreels are the worst culprits in this respect. They continually present controversial happenings with a bias towards the official view and in crises become straightforward propaganda organs for the Government—as anybody who saw their account of the Suez war will know.

Conservative MPs are quick to complain in the House of Commons if they think the BBC has been unfair to the Conservative Party, even if the programme is about the thirties or other past history. Should not anti-war campaigners be just as vigilant? A letter to the manager of your cinema often has a considerable effect. And if you

write to the BBC you might even get an official apology!

Just one word of warning about the kind of objection to make about this propaganda. It is surely unwise to argue that films and television programmes should present "both sides of the case." Our experience of the completely dull and lifeless "objective" films should warn us against this. What we want to do, surely, is open up the mass media so that as many viewpoints as possible can be stated. "Freedom" is the slogan, not "objectivity."

### PN comes to the Commons

**FOR** obvious reasons PN is not often referred to in the House of Commons.

There was one occasion in 1955, at the time of Eileen Fletcher's articles on Kenya, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies

churches. The aims of the programme are to challenge Christians to the meaning of the Christian faith for international affairs; to awaken Christians and others to the facts of international life and to their responsibilities; to stimulate church groups, community organisations and individuals to study various views on crucial issues, to discuss them, then to act individually and corporately on the basis of their own informed convictions; and to encourage church members to be more active in inter-denominational efforts and other responsible community programmes in international affairs.

Among the subjects proposed for study are theological and moral considerations in international affairs, the power struggle and security in the nuclear, space age, and overseas areas of rapid social change. A plan for action has also been drawn up. Suggested actions vary from aid to refugees to exchange student schemes.

The whole project even has the blessing of President Eisenhower, "What you are doing . . . is, to my mind, one of the finest things you could possibly undertake." I wonder if Eisenhower ever wondered what it all might lead to?

### Extravagance to boot

*"It is known that the War Department lost over £1,000,000 in surplus boots on orders which should never have been placed."*—Norman Dodds, MP, House of Commons, February 22.

### Preaching and practising

**WHEN** John Arden's play "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance" was performed in London at the end of last year it was enthusiastically reviewed in PN. Now a paperback edition of the play has been published (Methuen, 3s. 6d.) with an interesting short introduction by Arden.

"Serjeant Musgrave's Dance," writes Arden, does not advocate bloody revolution. "I have endeavoured to write about the violence that is so evident in the world, and to do so through a story which is partly one of wish-fulfilment. I think that many

of us must have at some time felt an over-

## Who are the innocent?

*I want her (Sybil Morrison) to tell me whether she believes that we, as human beings, have the right to defend ourselves by force against unjust attack.—B. J. Wicker.—Letter to the Editor, page five.*

**MR. WICKER** makes a number of assertions based upon assumptions which I cannot accept. For instance, the fact that "recent Popes" have supported the late Dr. Garbett leaves me quite unmoved since I profoundly disagree with their conception of a possibly "just" war in which the end (unspecified) may be held to justify means I consider to be evil and immoral.

There is also the assumption that it is always perfectly clear and apparently unquestionable, which nation is the aggressor in any given circumstances, and Mr. Wicker does not state who is to be the judge in such a matter. Was there aggression in Suez, in his view, and if so was Eden or Nasser the aggressor? Was the British occupation of Cyprus aggressive, and if so had Grivas the right to resist it by force? There are many other instances of highly disputable political assessments which make nonsense of Mr. Wicker's rather slick assumptions.

The analogies which he draws between individuals under attack and nations under attack are well known to all conscientious objectors who appear before tribunals; they are seldom true analogies, and in this case do not advance Mr. Wicker's argument since he has not defined his use of the word "innocent." He seems to imply that it is only in cases of "mass destruction" that the innocent may become involved. \*

I have a very uncomfortable feeling that he is one of those who think always of "women and children" when this word is used. In fact, there were young men in the first world war; French and Belgian families and their homes in the direct line of shell fire; soldiers and airmen landed in Suez; young conscripts shot in the back in Cyprus who were never under the bombardment of mass destructive weapons, but who were totally innocent of any kind of aggression



Photo: Daily Herald

**The MP who repeated what he said in Peace News.**



### MUSIC TO REMEMBER

**ONE** of the tunes chosen in the BBC series "The Hundred Best Tunes" was the Lost Chord, the

wrote asking where his copy of Peace News had got to. But that was

Conservative MPs are quick to complain in the House of Commons if they think the BBC has been unfair to the Conservative Party, even if the programme is about the thirties or other past history. Should not anti-war campaigners be just as vigilant? A letter to the manager of your cinema often has a considerable effect. And if you



## MUSIC TO REMEMBER



ONE of the tunes chosen in the BBC series "The Hundred Best Tunes" was the Lost Chord, the popularity of which is not to be doubted. Most of us can share in the sense of thrill which was the result of that magic touch, and even those of us who are not what would be technically called musical, do feel deeply moved and stirred by particular pieces of music.

In my last appeal I referred to the piper and the tune, but I obviously have not been able to touch the right chord to produce the response for which I had hoped. To those readers of Peace News who have contributed the £19 to bring the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund up to £160, we send our best thanks.

To the others—if I can't strike an appropriate note or touch the right chord, perhaps a moment of silence in which you think of the vital importance to you and your children and, indeed everyone, of the message of pacifism, would produce the response in the shape of a note of another kind.

It can be for as much as £5 or as little as 10s., and we will be very grateful for whichever you send. Amen. So mote it be. I hope the echo of the lost chord will prevent there being any missing notes.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £160, or in other words, £65 short of the average required.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Photo: Daily Herald  
**The MP who repeated what he said in Peace News.**

wrote asking where his copy of Peace News had got to. . . . But that was long ago.

Now I am happy to see in Hansard that we have made the Commons again. In the Defence debate a fortnight ago Mr. George Wigg, one of the most formidable critics of both the Government's and the Opposition's policy, said :

"Before the Defence White Paper of 1957 was issued I wrote an article. No one would publish it. I do not blame anyone for that. I was asked if I would allow it to be published in Peace News. I did not take any money for it. I am not a pacifist. I will repeat what I said then. . . ."

Mr. Wigg then went on to outline the criticisms he had made in his PN article.

Don't make the mistake of thinking the House of Commons is therefore moving towards sanity. If you do suffer from such optimistic delusions, I recommend that you read the speech that Brigadier Sir Otho Prior Palmer, the member for Worthing, made in the debate, a part of which I quote :

"I am merely replying to the pacifist nonsense spoken by the Hon. Member for Leek (Mr. Harold Davies)—the sort of nonsense which resulted in the death of many very gallant men."

## The Church Militant

IT is easy enough nowadays to dismiss the churches as safe, respectable organisations which have smothered the revolutionary message of Christ and replaced it with the message of the "established order."

For this reason I was very glad to see the brochure issued recently by the American National Council of Churches, "Nation-wide Programme of Education and Action for Peace."

This nationwide programme is a year of concentrated study and action by the

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"Serjeant Musgrave's Dance," writes Arden, does not advocate bloody revolution. "I have endeavoured to write about the violence that is so evident in the world, and to do so through a story which is partly one of wish-fulfilment. I think that many of us must have at some time felt an overpowering urge to match some particularly outrageous piece of violence with an even greater and more outrageous retaliation. Musgrave tries to do this: and the fact that the sympathies of the play are clearly with him in his original horror, and then turn against him and his intended remedy, seems to have bewildered many people.

". . . Complete pacifism is a very hard doctrine: and if this play appears to advocate it with perhaps some timidity, it is probably because I am naturally a timid man—and also because I know that if I am hit I very easily hit back: and I do not care to preach too confidently what I am not sure I can practice."

All those of us who advocate non-violence would do well to learn something from Arden's humility. In the meantime don't miss this version of the best English play to have appeared since the war.

## New policy?

"I hold that the central idea of British socialism is the brotherhood of man. It is this . . . which surely inspires all our aims in foreign, colonial, social and economic policies alike."—Hugh Gaitskell, February 22.

—Phyz

## MILITARY LOGIC

DURING his recent tour of Southern France, General de Gaulle said at Vigan on February 27 that as long as some countries had enough bombs "to destroy the whole earth," France had to keep her nuclear weapons in order to defend herself.

are seldom true analogies, and in this case do not advance Mr. Wicker's argument since he has not defined his use of the word "innocent." He seems to imply that it is only in cases of "mass destruction" that the innocent may become involved. ★

I have a very uncomfortable feeling that he is one of those who think always of "women and children" when this word is used. In fact, there were young men in the first world war; French and Belgian families and their homes in the direct line of shell fire; soldiers and airmen landed in Suez; young conscripts shot in the back in Cyprus who were never under the bombardment of mass destructive weapons, but who were totally innocent of any kind of aggression. They merely obeyed orders.

If the end in view is peace then the means must be peaceful whatever the suffering involved. When Jesus preached "Love your enemies" to his followers; when He said: "Resist not evil," He surely laid down the final and ultimate refutation of the right to use evil means under any circumstances.

My answer to Mr. Wicker's passionate demand to know whether I believe human beings should have the right to defend themselves by force from unjust attack is simple, and I hope straightforward. I do not reserve as a right the use of force for myself, nor do I believe it to be the most effective, and certainly not the right way to counter violence.

That in certain given circumstances I might be frightened, or angry, and attempt to hit back, I fully admit; the instinct of self-preservation being extremely strong, I might well struggle for my life in a violent way. That is not to say that my struggle would be either effective or morally right. To try to equal the violence of the attacker may, in an individual case, be a brave and heroic act in itself, but it does not solve the problem of overcoming the evil; in all probability it enhances the evil and exacerbates the general situation.

I do not understand what is meant by "traditional morality"; it seems to me that there is nothing moral in simply copying the means used by someone who, according to Mr. Wicker's assumption, is an evil aggressor.

The question of whether the "stability of society" is even a fact, let alone whether it is kept stable by the use of force, is too wide for argument in this short article.

The difficulty of making an assessment in regard to "aggression," "innocence," or "justification for violence" is obvious when it comes to a close examination of Mr. Wicker's arguments. Mass destructive weapons are the inevitable consequence of such assessments in the past; in my view there is no answer to them, other than the pacifist one: it is war itself that must go.

## Disarmament

GREAT hopes were expressed for the success of the 10-Power disarmament conference which opened in Geneva on Tuesday. Delegates from both East and West gave declarations about intentions to explore every avenue towards general disarmament.

But there was, at the same time, increased talk of "deterrents" and new armaments in many countries, showing that the statesmen have a long way still to go before they learn the art of peaceful co-operation and are prepared to renounce war as a means of national policy.

As the great Liberal Spanish exile, Salvador de Madariaga, said at a gathering in London recently: "What is more important than any scheme for disengagement and disarmament is a moral disarmament. If countries remain hostile to each other they will always find the means of fighting, whatever limitations on arms are decided upon."

## More deadly arms

LORD HAILSHAM spoke in the British Parliament about World Authority and abolishing the National Anthem. But he did that in a speech in which he moved the acceptance of a military budget of £1,600,000,000, more than twice the entire national spending in pre-war years.

Germany, having realised that the plans for bases in Franco Spain were unpopular among the NATO allies, was promised rocket training facilities on British soil (at South Uist, of all places, where the population a few years ago carried out a violent campaign against any military establishment).

There was a campaign in the USA for building up a huge NATO gas and germ warfare "deterrent," which had an echo in Britain. Some Labour politicians, as well as the Conservative newspaper, the Scotsman, expressed great apprehension regarding the experiments with bacteria. The military authorities have, it is true, told the British public that the experiments are entirely "defensive" in character and meant only to produce a "deterrent" against any aggressor who may use germs in spite of the international ban on such methods of warfare. But an African foot and mouth virus escaped recently from a British laboratory in Pirbright (Surrey) and contaminated cattle in the neighbourhood. What guarantees are there that other germs may not escape from the military laboratory at Porton and cause epidemics in Britain? This hazard is regarded as more dangerous than the A-bomb.

## After de Gaulle

FURTHERMORE, there was a scare about China being on the brink of testing an A-bomb. It is true this was denied, not by the Chinese, but by a Russian. What Russia says apparently goes for



differences may seem small to outsiders. Just think of all the abuse against Tito when he fell out!

The scare about the Chinese bomb was apparently a result of the general fear that the French bomb in the Sahara had started an atomic race among countries outside the "nuclear club." There was an increased propaganda for German A-bombs, and even the Prime Minister of Norway said in Parliament that "conditions may alter" so that Norway may have to face the introduction of nuclear weapons.

De Gaulle certainly started something in the Sahara!

## Stirring up fear

THE trial in London of an RAF officer accused of having given military secrets to Russia; the confession in Bonn by a Swede who pretended to have spied in Russia on behalf of the West; the arrest in Paris of a thousand people who were suspected of having designs on Khrushchev's life; the resuming of Russian jamming of BBC broadcasts—this is hardly in keeping with the professed aim of abolishing mutual fear and suspicion.

But still, there are encouraging signs that people both in the East and in the West are prepared for "moral disarmament. A Gallup poll in Britain showed a majority in favour of spending more on roads, schools, health and National Assistance than on arms. I have not often found myself in agreement with Averell Harriman, but I must wholeheartedly endorse the conclusions in his recent book "Peace with Russia?" that neither Russia nor America have any reason to fear the other as an aggressor, but that they both hope for victory over the other in the economic struggle for world domination.

## Mikoyan's turn?

THE USA (and to some extent Britain) have so far believed that they could win the loyalty of underdeveloped countries simply by giving financial aid. Eisenhower found on his Latin-American journey that this was not enough. His reception at some places showed that there were people who bit the hand that fed them.

Mikoyan has now launched a Russian scheme for similar aid by granting Cuba a 2½% loan and signing an agreement for the purchase of sugar. Will the Russians have the same experience as the USA?

The demonstrations against Eisenhower (and previously against Nixon) may serve as a reminder that giving is

tiating with the British Government for independence for his people.

Before the month is over Sierra Leone's turn will come, the colony which was founded by liberated slaves long before the Americans made their experiment with Liberia. Incidentally, Sierra Leone was founded on the initiative of Swedenborgians who believed that the Negroes were God's chosen people and who had a real Utopian hope for their settlement.

Some people may not agree with developments taking place in those colonies which are now independent states. Nkrumah is criticised for introducing one-party rule in Ghana. Cheddi Jagan's fellow delegates, representing other parties in British Guiana, fear that he will get too great a power for his own party. Mboya declared, before leaving London, that the British should not expect to find all parliamentary institutions of this country copied in Kenya. He explained that most colonial freedom movements are championed by one party which inevitably gets a dominant position when freedom is achieved. The leader of any freedom movement is bound to become a leader of his country. Such people were made Kings in the old days, and their descendants gradually became national symbols above the parties. It may upset the pattern when they are elected presidents.

## True democracy?

BRITISH people who criticize the one-party states in Africa, apparently regard the two-party system as the only democratic one. There are, however, others who are just as critical of the two-party system, which deprives smaller groups of their legitimate parliamentary representation.

There are many in other countries who view the latest reforms in the British Parliament as putting too much power in the hands of the Government and the Speaker, depriving individual members from presenting Bills at their liberty, restricting the list of speakers and the time allotted for debates. This is not regarded as true democracy.

This system may be more democratic than the one-party rule in some African states. But there is also an African opinion which objects both to the one-party and the two-party system. I met once, in a British colony, a native politician who was in favour of introducing the Swiss form constitution, "as only the popular referendum is true democracy." His country is not yet on the list for constitutional conferences in Lancaster House, but we may in due course hear more of his suggestions, which will create a stir both in London and Accra.

## The bill for Iceland

THIS week did not only see the opening of the disarmament conference in Geneva, but also of the UN Fishing Conference, whose main point on the agenda is the Icelandic fishing dispute.

The British Foreign Office and the Trawler Federation have already taken it for granted that Iceland will get its fishing limit recognised and the British Navy has

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## After de Gaulle

FURTHERMORE, there was a scare about China being on the brink of testing an A-bomb. It is true this was denied, not by the Chinese, but by a Russian. What Russia says apparently goes for China as well.

There has been a lot of talk in the West about China having a line different from that of Russia. Some people have even characterised Chou En-lai as the "De Gaulle of the Eastern bloc." It is, however, obvious that China is a more disciplined member of the Eastern bloc than is France of the Western bloc.

The people who speak about differences between China and Russia should remember that Communists generally turn bitter enemies when they fall out of line, even if their

other in the economic struggle for world domination.

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The demonstrations against Eisenhower (and previously against Nixon) may serve as a reminder that giving is not enough, that we must give and serve with humility and without selfish aims.

## After freedom

LANCASTER HOUSE is, as Fenner Brockway points out on page seven, the scene of one constitutional conference after the other. The Kenya conference has now finished, and British Guiana's turn has come. Cheddi Jagan, who seven years ago was deposed as Chief Minister, is now nego-

## Turkish direct action

MR. AHMET EMIN YALMAN, editor of the Turkish newspaper, Vatan, began his prison sentence of 15 months and 16 days on March 8.

On March 11 he was removed to a nearby hospital on doctors' orders since he was believed to be suffering from angina pectoris.

Mr. Yalman was imprisoned because he published extracts from two articles which had appeared in an American newspaper and which were extremely critical of the present Turkish Government.

The Observer reported on March 13 that Mr. E. J. B. Rose, Director of the International Press Institute, had commented on the sentence, "The Turkish Press Laws are very loosely framed. Clearly there should be redress for any public figure who is libelled or insulted in the Press—but proof of accuracy of allegations should be a defence. Under the present law this is not so. The offence of 'belittling a Minister' is extremely vague, and the law is, in effect, designed to muzzle criticism. But the number of prison sentences shows that it is not effective."

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Since 1950, 800 Turkish journalists have been sentenced under the laws.

### The 'cat' returns

JACOB FORDIWO, who was a candidate of Ghana's opposition United Party in the election held last October, has been imprisoned for twelve months and sentenced—subject to High Court Approval—to 12 lashes, said a Reuter report from Accra on March 12.

He pleaded not guilty at Kumasi to unlawful assembly, theft, and damaging property during the Ashanti (Central Ghana) council elections, in October.

Fifteen other party members received similar sentences, subject to approval.

### Task force for NATO

A THREE nation nuclear armed task force is soon to be set up within NATO to deal with emergencies. This

announcement by General Norstad was reported by the News Chronicle's Paris Correspondent on March 10.

The force will be of brigade group strength and composed at first of three reinforced battalions, one each from England, America and France, to give a force of between 2,500 and 3,000 highly trained men.

General Norstad stated that he later hoped to extend the task force by the addition of two more battalions—one from the north of the NATO area and the other from the south, probably German and Italian.

The force will be under integrated allied command, but General Norstad could not give the nationality of its commanding officer, except to say that he would not be American.

More than \$2,000,000 has been given or is now expected towards the \$6,300,000 World Refugee Year Programme of the World Council of Churches. This is an

two-party system. I met once, in a British colony, a native politician who was in favour of introducing the Swiss form constitution, "as only the popular referendum is true democracy." His country is not yet on the list for constitutional conferences in Lancaster House, but we may in due course hear more of his suggestions, which will create a stir both in London and Accra.

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The British Foreign Office and the Trawler Federation have already taken it for granted that Iceland will get its fishing limit recognised and the British Navy has withdrawn from Icelandic water, thus avoiding an order to do so.

There is a mutual eagerness to settle the dispute peacefully. I heard the other day that Icelandic trawlers are recruiting British crews, now that the British vessels can no longer go to Icelandic waters. There will be some losses for the British trawlers which must be refitted for going to other fishing grounds. The losses are estimated at £1,000,000; exactly the amount, according to the Naval Estimates, paid for the upkeep of the British operations in Icelandic waters during the fishing dispute.

increase of about \$450,000 in the last three weeks, says a statement issued on March 4. All the money has been already allocated to new or ongoing projects.

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# Letters

## Catholics and defence

MAY I, as a Catholic reader of Peace News, be allowed to comment on Sybil Morrison's assertion (PN, March 4) that "there is no sound principle" on which to demand the abolition of weapons of mass destruction other than the abolition of *all* weapons?

On the contrary, the principle is perfectly clear, and Dr. Garbett was merely echoing the teaching of recent Popes on the matter. The difficulty arises in the application of the principle—which is simply that the end does not justify the means.

While I have the inalienable right to defend myself by force against an unjust aggressor, I have no right to do so by deliberately attacking anyone other than the aggressor—e.g., an innocent third person. It follows that, in a case where I know that my attacker is a member of a crowd, and I do not know which person he is in that crowd, I have no right to annihilate them all, and plead the excuse of "double effect" to excuse my slaughter of the innocent.

While in an individual case such an example may be hard to imagine, it is precisely the issue with the "nuclear deterrent," as I understand it.

The whole Catholic position rests, then, upon the *right* of self-defence, both by the individual and the community; and this right must be safeguarded, even if it be admitted that it can no longer be justly exercised by states.

There is all the difference in the world between foregoing the exercise of a right and not having the right at all. It is the worst feature of the argument used by the Government that it is based upon a refusal to consider the moral issue in terms of rights. Obsessed with a sincere hope that the right to annihilate deliberately the innocent along with the guilty will never be used, they will not face the fact that the right itself has been assumed, against the whole weight of Christian teaching.

But Sybil Morrison, being obsessed with the need for urgent disarmament, seems equally to refuse to consider whether we have the right to defend ourselves by force at all. Quite apart from the problems of the present day, I want her to tell me whether she believes that we, as human beings, have the *right* to defend ourselves by force against unjust attack? If not, why

ON THE FRONTIER By the Rev. Tom Wardle

## THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

A VERY important discussion has been instigated by the American Friends Service Committee in the United States.

Last May Professor George Kennan, of Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study (who put a few cats among the diplomatic pigeons in Britain three years ago with his Reith Lectures on Russia and the West) had an article in The Atlantic Monthly called "Foreign Policy and Christian Conscience."

Such articles, while not ten-a-penny these days, are not unusual. But Kennan's was. It was not the standard blatherskite that drips from the sentimental American Protestant Press. It said something, and what it said was so disturbing that the AFSC Peace Education Programme people wrote to 20 Christian leaders for their comments on it. Characteristically, only six replied, and the Quakers have published these, together with a reprint of Kennan's article, under the same title, as a symposium (AFSC, Philadelphia, 45c).

Of the replies, the only one which seemed to cut any ice was by Father Murray, editor of the Roman Catholic "Theological Studies" and professor of theology at Woodstock College, Maryland. What the booklet comes down to is a debate, terribly over-brief of course, between Protestant and Catholic moral thinking in this age.

When discussion is conducted on this level between Protestant and Catholic intellectuals there is a thrill and a bite about it. We feel we are getting down to the real stuff; for the real stuff for hundreds of thousands in the western world today is the nature of moral authority—"What ought I to do?" "Why ought I to do it?" It is so important to the taking of positions on foreign policy and war that I would like to try to summarise the discussion.

### Policies and methods

an abomination in the sight of God. . ." One might be forgiven for asking that if he does not know the one, how can he know the other?

Moral patterns in the international realm are complex, that is Mr. Kennan's trouble. They are "fuzzy and unstable." "We cannot conclude that everything we want automatically reflects the purpose of God and everything the Russians want reflects the purpose of the devil."

This argument is carried over into the colonial sphere, and aid to under-developed countries. The old colonial pattern has changed. It grew out of "necessities," not moral delinquency. It could have happened to the United States just as readily as to Europe (did it not?).

### Morals in foreign aid

Now all the bad is not on the side of the metropolitan nations and all the good on the side of the colonials. Similarly there are no moral absolutes in foreign aid. It is not an undifferentiated good to give help in money or kind to needy nations. Economic balance may be upset, which does more harm than good, or benefits one section at the expense of another.

Mr. Kennan sees us all involved in a morally ambiguous situation. Even decisions taken by the United Nations are not morally superior to the views of small nations and do not necessarily "reflect the Christian answer . . . to anything."

Nevertheless, the UN points to the possibility of a sense of conscience higher than the national one, and a sense of the "fellowship of fate" by which we are all bound together.

On the big issue—the Bomb. Mr. Kennan's moral dilemma has persisted with regard to the problem of force. He can't join the Quakers in their renunciation of

But all Mr. Kennan does is land himself in "the depths of the situationalism" of the new American Protestantism where nothing is either good or bad but always "ambiguous." "He is the man," says Mr. Murray, "who does not like where he is but can get nowhere else."

This is an old argument, and an old dilemma. Volumes could be and have been written about it (most of them unreadable). In the face of the transparent insecurity of life, how are we to find our way? There have been two classical answers. One, by law. The other, by grace.

The legal answer has created a structure of do's and don'ts, though claiming that these edicts were given or inspired by divine revelation—the Covenant of the Jews and the Torah; the commission of Peter and the historic Catholic Church.

The answer of grace has been represented, it would be claimed, by the prophets of Israel, as against the priests, by Jesus as against the Sanhedrin, and by Luther as against Rome. This is the historic Protestant answer, that in the face of every moral challenge man is given insight, by the power of faith in God, to see the right thing to do.

The legalists have argued that a society based on private judgment would be moral anarchy; the intuitionists have argued that a society based on rigid legalism takes all the dynamic out of life and makes it not worth living, besides repressing all possibilities for growth.

### Legalism with grace

It seems to me that both parties are to some extent right. Taken separately, and to the logical end, legalism can issue in the Spanish Inquisition, and intuitionism can issue in Colin Wilson's absurd morality of "Ritual in the Dark."

There is a form of Protestant moral law now growing up in the World Council of



to consider the moral issue in terms of rights. Obsessed with a sincere hope that the right to annihilate deliberately the innocent along with the guilty will never be used, they will not face the fact that the right itself has been assumed, against the whole weight of Christian teaching.

But Sybil Morrison, being obsessed with the need for urgent disarmament, seems equally to refuse to consider whether we have the right to defend ourselves by force at all. Quite apart from the problems of the present day, I want her to tell me whether she believes that we, as human beings, have the *right* to defend ourselves by force against unjust attack? If not, why not—since instinct, traditional morality and the stability of society appear to demand it?

But if we have the right, what is the principle by which we may judge whether, in the concrete circumstances, we may exercise it, and in what ways it must be used in order to safeguard life without sacrificing our other moral commitments?—**B. J. WICKER, 304 Vicarage Rd., Birmingham 14.**

*Sybil Morrison replies on page three.*

## War on Want

PEACE NEWS has given splendid coverage to the War on Want movement as a whole. May we ask one more inch on behalf of the North London Action Council? On March 26 Mr. James Howard, a civil engineer of the Friends Service Council, is to tell something of "the miracles which are being achieved" in Rasulia, India—the area which the group are hoping to assist during 1960. Your readers would be especially welcome.

During the week, April 4-9, the group will be manning a War on Want stall at the Hornsey Trade Fair, which has an estimated attendance of 10,000. Volunteers for manning are urgently needed.—**OLWEN BATTERSBY, 80 Muswell Hill Rd., London, N.10.**

*See advertiser's announcement, page six.*

**A SERVICE OF GOODWILL** for the MARCHERS will be held in THE HALL at PEACE NEWS, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1, on SUNDAY, MARCH 20, at 3.30 p.m. Speaker: ANNA STEELE, on "Why We Are Marching." Discussion, Refreshments. Collection for CND.

tween Protestant and Catholic moral thinking in this age.

When discussion is conducted on this level between Protestant and Catholic intellectuals there is a thrill and a bite about it. We feel we are getting down to the real stuff; for the real stuff for hundreds of thousands in the western world today is the nature of moral authority—"What ought I to do?" "Why ought I to do it?" It is so important to the taking of positions on foreign policy and war that I would like to try to summarise the discussion.

## Policies and methods

Professor Kennan believes that it is very difficult for us to know the outcome of specific aspects of a government's foreign policy in a Christian sense. We don't know what effect certain policies are likely to have. A statesman has to be governed by principle rather than individual calculation; but on the question of methods we can make Christian judgments. The Christian then, he says, should criticise his government's diplomacy rather than its policies.

Mr. Kennan writes: "If (the government) behaves badly, even the most worthy of purposes will be apt to be polluted; whereas sheer good manners will bring some measure of redemption to even the most disastrous undertaking."

It looks as though Mr. Kennan is thinking solely of the United States Government here. He can't surely mean that, say, a policy of subjugation of neighbouring peoples or compulsory sterilisation of certain groups within the nation would not be a matter for Christian criticism? Or are these methods? And if so, how are methods to be distinguished from policies?

In the fabric of international life," he goes on, "there are a great many questions that have no certain Christian significance at all... I do not think we can conclude that it matters greatly to God whether the Free Trade Area or the Common Markets prevails in Europe, whether the British fish or do not fish in Icelandic territorial waters, or even whether Indians or Pakistanis run Kashmir."

Professor Kennan believes that we do not know and cannot know the Mind of God in these matters, but he is confident that "the full-blown totalitarian state in all its unnatural, nightmarish horror is certainly

one section at the expense of another.

Mr. Kennan sees us all involved in a morally ambiguous situation. Even decisions taken by the United Nations are not morally superior to the views of small nations and do not necessarily "reflect the Christian answer . . . to anything."

Nevertheless, the UN points to the possibility of a sense of conscience higher than the national one, and a sense of the "fellowship of fate" by which we are all bound together.

On the big issue—the Bomb. Mr. Kennan's moral dilemma has persisted with regard to the problem of force. He can't join the Quakers in their renunciation of power in international affairs while holding to it for internal purposes.

Yet he "cannot help feeling" that "the weapon of indiscriminate mass destruction goes farther than anything the Christian ethic can properly accept." War would be "defeat" (presumably moral as well as physical defeat) ". . . there are times when we have no choice but to follow the dictates of our conscience, to throw ourselves on God's mercy, and not to ask too many questions."

## A gallant effort

Father Murray's reply has tartness and body like a grapefruit, with just a little academic sugar.

"This intelligent statesman-turned-moralist is making a gallant and needed effort to overcome an older type of morality, typically Protestant and typically American. . . It was a morality of facile absolutes. And it thrust its simple yeas and nays upon reality without prior analysis of reality's own lines of life and in ruthless despite of reality's analogical structure. Its subjectivism, its 'enthusiasm,' its rejection of all moral authority external to the individual conscience. . . laid it open to aberration under the influence of every private passion and public fanaticism."

Mr. Murray cannot accept that there are any issues which are devoid of "Christian significance." Everything must be defined in terms of "the good." He believes Professor Kennan is trying to get out of the position of the old-style Protestant morality which left everything to conscience and saw the great issues of good and bad as clear-cut and obvious, because this position is no longer tenable in a morally mixed-up world.

based on private judgment would be moral anarchy; the intuitionists have argued that a society based on rigid legalism takes all the dynamic out of life and makes it not worth living, besides repressing all possibilities for growth.

## Legalism with grace

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There is a form of Protestant moral law now growing up in the World Council of Churches which does not inhibit the opportunities for real Protestant protest from the individual against the law and the Church. If there is a "reason" within the Catholic Church which has advocated the doctrine of the "just war" in the past, and is today so equivocal about nuclear weapons, there is a "reason" outside that Church in the Protestant intellect and conscience which condemns nuclear war without qualification.

Law corresponds to justice, and grace to love. Love without justice can be sloppy and ineffectual. Justice without love can be monstrous. Will there ever come a time when the two will come together? The situation of our world demands it, for the path we are treading to nuclear destruction is clearly wrong from both standpoints.

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# WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED FROM HARRINGTON?

**By Anthony Weaver**

**What effect, so far, have the anti-nuclear demonstrations had on public opinion and on the anti-nuclear movement itself? A useful guide to the study of this question has been provided by Anthony Weaver, lecturer on Education and member of the ad hoc committee which acted on behalf of the recently imprisoned members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.**

**We produce here the main part of his analysis of "The Effects of the Harrington Project, December 1959—February 1960."**

**I**N time, this may be divided into three parts:

1. Activities of the six people who were imprisoned on Dec. 15, 1959, and the impact this made;

2. Reports of the Harrington demonstration on Jan. 2, of the Northampton Court proceedings on Jan. 6, and of the two press conferences;

3. Various discussions during the subsequent six weeks.

In principle this can also be divided into three:

(a) How far did we succeed in getting across to the public that non-violent resistance on a national scale offers an alternative to military attempts to solve conflicts? What did we learn about breaking the law and about the role of the police?

(b) Was it shown that the discovery of nuclear energy could be used to remove the bases of economic conflict?

(c) How far has our movement been strengthened or weakened?

## **Preliminary publicity up to December 15**

Public meetings in the North of England were addressed by Pat Arrowsmith and reported in the local press in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Belfast. The Bolton Evening

release at any time by giving the undertaking required of them..."

The Observer, in its leader of Jan. 3, arguing for a revision of the 1361 Act, said political demonstrations should be allowed to take place unless they seemed likely to provoke serious crimes or riots, in which case the police were well able to handle offenders by normal methods.

A motion for permission to introduce a Bill to repeal the 1361 Act, introduced by Leslie Hale MP on Jan. 26, was defeated.

## **The first 7 days of 1960**

Of the influential news media, the best for accurate reporting and informed editorials and discussion were the Guardian, the Observer and ITV.

to "Action Committee" (easily confused with Mosley's organisation), and eulogy on police "who knew what to do," not mentioning that the demonstrators also knew what to do, or that DA had rehearsed arrangements with the Superintendent.

Daily Worker: Page 3 two pictures and complete record apparently taken from the Observer.

Telegraph: Nothing about the protest or its reasons.

Express: Nothing except mention of one boy's lonely vigil on Sunday night.

## **Press conferences**

Of the two press conferences held during this period the one reported on Friday, Jan. 1, was held in London and chaired by Terence Chivers of Peace News.

This was successful in three ways: it enabled the chairman to explain that DA breaks the law in order to show up the violence that the law permits; discussion of the aims and methods of the demonstration enabled the Observer and Guardian reporters to write their understanding accounts two days later. An exception to this was the Daily Herald, whose reporter took great pains to acquaint himself with the principles and methods of DA but whose editor seems to have maulled his scripts.



The New Statesman devoted its front page in December, 1958, to Swaffham; after Harrington on Jan. 9, 1960, Critic commented in London Diary: "The police carried off only those who said they wanted to be arrested. Everybody behaved impeccably... One is reminded of the Gandhi demonstrations when the Mahatma told an embarrassed magistrate that it was his duty to imprison him, just as it was his religious and patriotic duty to be imprisoned."

Critic drew a comparison with the Suffragette movement: the nuclear campaign was sorting itself out into "Peths" (Pethick Lawrence, propagandist) and "Panks" (Pankhurst, militant). "The direct action method was highly effective in getting publicity, if only sufficient volunteer martyrs are available at regular intervals."

Critic's assumption is that civil disobedience is only a means of publicity. He does not envisage war work being brought to a standstill by non-violent resistance or a general strike. In this respect Laurens Otter was right: Harrington was neither violent nor non-violent, but a-violent (PN, Feb. 5). Nevertheless, campaigners may have something to learn from the Suffragettes' struggle.

## **Successes and failures**

Time and Tide, on Jan. 9, commented on the "odd gentleness" of the Northampton incidents, which "could hardly have had a counterpart in any other part of the world." In the Friend, the Quaker weekly, Malcolm Clarke wrote that direct action had set him "wondering about the adequacy of his own protest" which had hitherto been on constitutional lines. Philip Seed (Feb. 19) said an essential ingredient of direct action should be a "standard of absolute respect for all people." Richard Ullmann feared that direct action may tend to "destroy that moral sensitivity which is the condition for the salvation of human society through the abolition of war."

Elsewhere there had been complaints that Harrington lacked the element of "penitential suffering." These would seem to be an example of an aggressive super-ego turned inwards, described by Flugel in "Man, Morals and Society." Let us have recourse, however, to another psychologist, William James, who in his essay on the "Moral

the police?

(b) Was it shown that the discovery of nuclear energy could be used to remove the bases of economic conflict?

(c) How far has our movement been strengthened or weakened?

## Preliminary publicity up to December 15

Public meetings in the North of England were addressed by Pat Arrowsmith and reported in the local press in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Belfast. The Bolton Evening News, for example, on December 9, quoted her as saying that at Harrington the aim would be to "reclaim the ground symbolically." This intention, referred to in the leaflets, the distribution of which precipitated the imprisonment, was taken at the Briefing Conference to indicate the principle upon which the demonstration should be conducted.

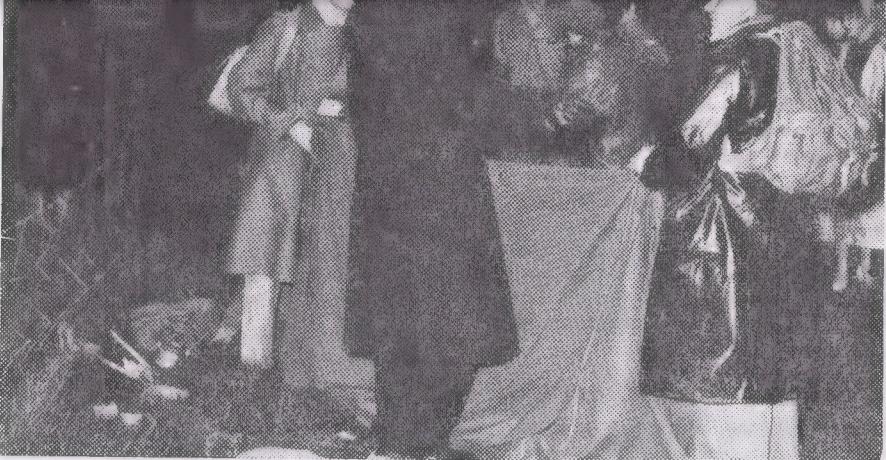
At Marylebone Court on Dec. 15 the Six were committed to two months imprisonment under the Justices of the Peace Act of 1361, because they urged people to break the law and refused to be bound over.

"I am sorry to have to deal in this way," said the magistrate, Sir Laurence Dunne, "with people who are most estimable citizens."

The facts of the case were widely reported in the national press, including the Dublin Irish Times, and in the local papers of the prisoners' home towns. In the Evening Standard appeared Vicky's "Breach of the peace" cartoon, showing a policeman holding up Father Christmas.

Discussions in Press and Parliament ignored the objects of the demonstration and got bogged down in argument about the 1361 Act being contrary to democratic ideas about civil liberties. There were protests from trades councils, trade union branches, constituency labour parties and other bodies. The Daily Herald ran a 1½ inch banner: "We say free them for Christmas."

Mr. Butler, Home Secretary, on Dec. 28 refused to ask the Queen to intervene. In a letter to Mr. Sydney Silverman and 37 other MPs, he said he wished to make it clear that the six people had not been convicted of any offence and were not under sentence. "They can secure their own



Tents are pitched and arrests start at Harrington rocket base on January 2.  
Photo: Austin Underwood

Saturday, Jan. 2, ITV News showed an 80 second film of demonstrators leaving Rothwell, arriving and pitching tents at the rocket base. At 5.45 p.m. this was item five, at 8.55 p.m. it was item one. BBC Sound News gave an accurate and concise account at 6.0 p.m. and 9.0 p.m. of the afternoon's events; on Sunday, Jan. 3, 1.0 p.m., and Wednesday, Jan. 6, 6.0 p.m. and 9.0 p.m. gave a summary of the Northampton Court proceedings.

BBC TV (Saturday, Jan. 2) incorporated the film with the same news bulletin as was given on sound.

Sunday, Jan. 3: Observer: Very fair, full and correct account by Mark Arnold Forster on front page. London editions also carried large front page photo of tent pitchers.

Monday, Jan. 4: Guardian: Picture page one, back page—"Object achieved." Full and correct account written with humour, distinguishing between the three marches—of demonstrators, DA supporters, and CND—and including Saturday night court proceedings. London Letter wrote of the "Nuclear Week-end" which on other pages, consisted of (1) Coast-to-Coast March, (2) University Students' Conference, questionnaire, future plans and recommendation to leave NATO; and (3) CND Rally in Hyde Park in support of Harrington and to protest at American Embassy against Eisenhower's decision not to renew the ban on nuclear tests.

The Times: Page 6 picture and two-column clear account, except for reference

The conference also enabled Canon Collins to explain that CND and DA were united in their efforts to end nuclear war, but while using different methods supported each other.

A second conference had been planned to follow the Northampton Court proceedings, but the unexpected release of the 82 upset the arrangements as the remarks of the prisoners' were given priority to the prepared statements. It was, however, clear that considerable impact had been made by the arrests on Jan. 2.

## Resulting discussions

During that week it was noticed that some reporters emphasised what they regarded as the more sensational elements of the story, irrespective of their relevance to the actual theme.

A great deal of discussion has continued throughout the country. For example, at the S.W. London Grammar Schools Inter-Sixth Society conference on Nuclear War there is to be a speaker on Direct Action. It is arguable whether or not this level has been achieved at the cost of making the Harrington demonstration "respectable" (see Colin Smart, PN Jan. 15). Discussion has mainly centred round breaking the law and the rôle of the police.

ITV (8.25 p.m., Jan. 7): Programme of interviews conducted by Michael Ingram. Pat Arrowsmith, Harold Steele and Bertrand Russell spoke. Shots were shown from the film of Harrington, of the Swaffham cement mixer, and of the Suffragette throwing herself under the horse at Ascot.

protest" which had hitherto been on constitutional lines. Philip Seed (Feb. 19) said an essential ingredient of direct action should be a "standard of absolute respect for all people." Richard Ullmann feared that direct action may tend to "destroy that moral sensitivity which is the condition for the salvation of human society through the abolition of war."

Elsewhere there had been complaints that Harrington lacked the element of "penitential suffering." These would seem to be an example of an aggressive super-ego turned inwards, described by Flugel in "Man, Morals and Society." Let us have recourse, however, to another psychologist, William James, who in his essay on the "Moral Equivalent of War," many years ago showed that some way must be found, perhaps in opposition to war itself, to engender those qualities of endurance and courage which were demanded on the battlefield, and hitherto provided a motive for perpetuating war as an institution of civilisation.

In conclusion it may be said that our movement has been strengthened, that we understand better the rôle of the police and the meaning of law-breaking, that we shouted an emphatic "NO" to nuclear weapons which rang round the country.

The imprisonment of the Six heightened appreciation of their previous example and type of leadership, and led to the formation of other teams in Yorkshire and London capable of mounting civil disobedience projects on a national scale.

The committee now has available the personnel to work on other plans, including political action, and international action in Sahara and, say Germany.

It is now recognised that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Direct Action Committee, though differing in method and each valuing the distinction, can take part in joint activities.

But people are waiting to be shown a positive alternative. This we failed to do. Perhaps we have learned that what will be examined, and what will be reported, are not our proclaimed ENDS, but our MEANS at every stage.

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**MEETINGS**

**INTERESTED IN QUAKERISM?** Come and hear about it on Sunday, March 27, 3 p.m., at Friends House, Euston Road, London. Speakers. Discussion. Tea.

**HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION**

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District. Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with view of the fells. Isabel James. Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without

# Stop this war over a referendum date

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP *Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*

SO much is happening in the colonies that my review this week must be panoramic in scope and telegraphic in treatment.

Why have hopes in Algeria faded? I claim privileges. If any Europeans in Kenya and Central Africa flee to South Africa as a refuge, they will show that they prefer apartheid to racial equality.

\* \* \*

The "rebels" wanted it within a year of cease fire and asked for international super-

**WHY HAS DE GAULLE CHANGED?** vision. De Gaulle insisted on a four years' interval and unrestricted French supervision. This is why the war is to go on and why de Gaulle now says it must be a long war to a finish.

World opinion must not allow this to happen; I'm not sure that opinion in France will allow it to happen. Other Governments must now back the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations.

The principle of self-determination is accepted. It will be criminal if the conflict continues only because de Gaulle wants delay in timing and because his sense of prestige leads him to reject United Nations observation of the plebiscite.

\* \* \*

There are disturbing signs that European resistance to African claims will stiffen in Kenya and Central Africa.

The resignation of the Speaker of the Kenyan Legislature in protest against Mr. Macleod's constitutional plan represents a wide feeling among the whites, and in Northern Rhodesia a thousand Europeans packed a hall when a new resistance organisation was established.

I hope Mr. Macleod will not take these threats too seriously. He must choose between an inevitable historical advance and the doomed effort of a privileged few to stem it.

Mr. Macleod's Kenya plan went far short of the African claim for immediate responsible government and the African leaders have made it clear that they accept it only as a next

stage. It will give them a majority in the next Parliament and then they will plan for independence.

The British Government hopes that the new constitution will last five years. Whitehall does not yet understand the tempo of Africa's change.

Mr. Macleod is going to Nyasaland. This will be his test in Central Africa. Will he over-rule Sir Roy Welensky's opposition to the release of Dr. Banda and his colleagues? Will he provide for an African majority in the Legislature?

At present there are only seven Africans among 27 members.

\* \* \*

**DR. VERWOERD** war politically on



Ghana will become a Republic within the Commonwealth on July 1. Some British newspapers have attacked the Constitution as creating a dictatorship for Dr. Nkrumah. In fact, Ghana's President will be a great deal more responsible to the people and to the elected Parliament than America's President.

\* \* \*

The original form of the French Community of African States is rapidly dissolving. The Prime Ministers of the four Republics of French Equatorial Africa have set up a committee to plan federation and independence. They speak of independence within the French Community, but clearly it is becoming transformed to a pattern nearer the Commonwealth.

The relationship between the new Federation in Equatorial Africa and the Union "FRENCH" of Central African Republics (replacing Belgian Congo) will be interesting. French Congo will be part of the Federation, and Abbe Fulbert, its Prime Minister, earlier spoke of union with his fellow Bakongo tribesmen in Belgian Congo and Angola.

\* \* \*

Sir Roy Welensky's statement that he has been approached for union between the Katanga Province of Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia has angered both Africans and Belgians. The approach came from circles associated with the Union Minière, industrialists who have a monopoly of mineral rights in the Belgian Congo.

They think their privileges and exploitation will be more secure in Northern Rhodesia than in the new independent State. I think

**SIR ROY'S INDISCRETION**

For the first time in history a country is

12, Earl's Court Road (Nr. Ken High St.). Salad meals of cheese & fruit, hot savouries with vegetables or salad, good soups and sweets. Inexpensive, fresh and varied. Reading & coffee room, second floor. Open 12 to 2.15 lunch (except Sunday).

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INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

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#### LITERATURE

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#### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the dispatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri., 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

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#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone BUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS

#### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

#### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11. Group PPU.

The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, has now openly extended his attack on African rights in the Union to the whole continent.

He has urged the white nations, including Britain, not to let go their hold on Africa; has called on the whites to "stand and fight" for their position in Africa; and has offered South Africa as a refuge for whites who feel they must "get out of the way" because of African political advance in their territories.

Dr. Verwoerd will find this is the most disastrous speech he has ever made. In effect, he has declared war politically on African people throughout the continent.

He has done a great disservice to the white minorities. There is no evidence to support his allegation that they will suffer injustice as African independence grows.

There are more Europeans in Ghana now than before independence. Are there any Europeans in Nigeria who fear that they will be victimised after October?

The fears of the die-hards in Kenya and Central Africa are the consequence of their own repressive policies. In Tanganyika, where Europeans have been more reasonable, there is little fear.

African leaders have said again and again they welcome the presence of Europeans in their territories so long as they do not

attack Parliament and then they will plan for independence.

The British Government hopes that the new constitution will last five years. Whitehall does not yet understand the tempo of Africa's change.

Mr. Macleod is going to Nyasaland. This will be his test in Central Africa. Will he over-rule Sir Roy Welensky's opposition to the release of Dr. Banda and his colleagues? Will he provide for an African majority in the Legislature?

At present there are only seven Africans among 27 members.

\* \* \*

For the first time in history a country is to be asked to adopt a Constitution which gives its Parliament the right to surrender its national sovereignty.

This is the real significance of the Constitution which is to be submitted to a popular vote in Ghana next month. Article 2 confidently expects a union of African states and territories and accordingly gives Parliament the power to surrender the whole or any part of its sovereignty.

Ghana has given a lead not only for Africa but for the whole world. I

**GHANA LEADS FOR AFRICAN UNITY**

find it moving that an African country should be the first to recognise in its constitution that national sovereignty should be surrendered for wider interests of well-being and peace.

## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

#### Friday, March 11

**BRIGHTON:** 8 p.m. Pax Guest House, 17, Melville Rd., Hove 2. "Danilo Dolci and his Work." Speaker: Bill Taylor. PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.2:** 7.30 p.m. 41, Kildoran Rd. Group Meeting, National AGM Business. Clapham PPU.

**STRATFORD-ON-AVON:** 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Sheep St. "International Help for Children." John Barclay. Film: "These People Matter." Collection for World Refugee Year Funds. FoR.

**MANCHESTER:** 6 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. Start of Spring Fair. North West Region CND.

#### Saturday, March 12

**BIRMINGHAM:** 31: The Beehive, Bishopsgate St. Jumble Sale. Please inform Les Mallows, 91 Farren Rd. of any offers. Phone: Priory 4918. West Midlands Area PPU.

**LEICESTER:** 3.30 p.m. Quest House, College Bds., Ashby Rd., Loughborough. North & East

Midlands Area AGM. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

#### Sunday, March 20

**LONDON, N.1:** 3.30 p.m. Peace News Mtg. Hall, 5, Caledonian Rd. Service of Goodwill for the Aldermaston Marchers. Speaker: Anna Steele.

**TUNBRIDGE WELLS:** 12 noon. Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways. S.E. Area Meeting. 2.30 p.m. "Speaking Peace in America." Hilda Klenze. Chair: Minnie Pallister. Open Meeting. PPU.

**LONDON, S.E.1:** 8 p.m. 3a Courtney Rd. Tape recordings of BBC (Challenge Series) on pacifism. All welcome. Crosby PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.15 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32, Tavistock Sq. Annual Meeting followed at 4 p.m. by service. Speaker: Ronald Mallone, BA, on "Christian Pacifist stands for Parliament." Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

#### Monday, March 21

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6.30 p.m. 6, Endsleigh St. "Things We Would like to Abolish—The United Nations." Speaker: O. Miller, "Sagittarius" (Statesman), "Mercutio" (Guardian), the three-in-one. 6 p.m. Refreshments. Central London PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bdg., Ho., Ebury Bdg. Rd. London Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

#### Friday, March 25

**FARNHAM:** 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church Hall. Public Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament.

George and England.

Sir Roy Welensky's statement that he has been approached for union between the Katanga Province of Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia has angered both Africans and Belgians. The approach came from circles associated with the Union Miniere, industrialists who have a monopoly of mineral rights in the Belgian Congo.

They think their privileges and exploitation will be more secure in Northern Rhodesia than in the new independent State. I think events will soon show that they will not be very secure in either.

Union may eventually come, but only after the European domination of Northern Rhodesia is ended.

Three more British colonies are in the queue for freedom. Constitutional talks on British Guiana's claim for independence are now taking place in London. The Sierre Leone talks begin next month. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies will go to Trinidad within the next few weeks to discuss its future.

The dear old Empire is disappearing before our eyes.

Copyright in India and Africa reserved to author.

London speakers to be announced. Alton & District CND.

#### Saturday, March 26

**LONDON, E.11:** 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Reunion Concert & Bring and Buy Sale. PPU.

#### Saturday, March 26 and Sunday, March 27

**WESTON-SUPER-MARE:** 3 p.m. Sat. and 4 p.m. Sun. Milford Lodge Private Hotel, Beach Rd. Western Area Week-end Conference on "Towards a Non-violent Society." Fred Moorhouse and Hilda von Klenze. Details from Ron Barnes, 4, Grange Drive, Bridgwater. PPU.

#### Wednesday, March 30

**LONDON, N.1:** 8 p.m. 5, Caledonian Road. Discussion with J. Allen Skinner. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### Thursday, March 31

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. Public Meeting. Buffet and Bookstall from 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Victor Gollancz, Stuart Morris, Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Sybil Thorndike. Chairman: Sybil Morrison. Admission Free. Some reserved seats at 2s. 6d. from The Organiser, Peace Pledge Union, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. EUSton 5501.

#### Saturday, April 2

**EALING:** 2.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodville Rd. "Practical Peacemaking." Eileen Fletcher. Sec. APF. Anita Hicks, IFoR. Chair: Phyllis Nash, SoF. Tea. Discussion. FoR, APF, PPU invited. Details: Stanley Dyke, Sec. W. London FoR, 48, Barnfield Rd., W.5.



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## All-Africa peace conference

THE date of the Accra Conference on Positive Action for Peace and Security in Africa has been moved forward to April 7 to 9.

Popular and government organisations throughout Africa and organisations and individuals outside Africa prominent in the struggle against imperialism and nuclear war have been invited.

Among the items on the agenda are further direct action against the French nuclear tests in the Sahara, the setting up of a non-violent direct action training centre, and the danger of the "Balkanisation" of Africa.

Responses to cabled invitations sent out last week have been favourable and are still coming in.

Chief Hosea Kutako has cabled from Windhoek in S.W. Africa appointing the Rev. Michael Scott and Jariretundu Kozonguizi to represent him.

The Rev. A. J. Muste and Bayard Rustin, veteran American pacifists, who were among the members of the Sahara Protest Team, have cabled their acceptance of the invitation.

Among the organisations and journals in Britain that will be represented are the Africa Bureau, the Committee of African Organisations, London University Africa Society, Movement for Colonial Freedom, New Left Review and Peace News. Arlo Tatum of the War Resisters' International, and April Carter, secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, also hope to attend.

A six-minute 60-millimetre film of the Sahara A-protest is now available from Eric Walker, 154 Corby St., London, N.4.

## PROPOSED PEACE MEETING ON SUMMIT DAY

# A Talk with Chou En-lai

by Anthony Brooke

ON New Year's Day I met and talked with Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China.

That same morning news reached me that the Summit Meeting will take place on May 16. This was of more than passing interest, because some months ago I reserved the Royal Albert Hall for a peace meeting to be held on that same date—a meeting to be called "Plan for Peace."

In every country and city I have visited during my present journeying, local peace organisations, or individuals having a special concern for peace, have agreed to hold meetings on May 16. A similar response from Japan, the Hawaiian Islands and the USA will mean that countless people in many parts of the world will be thinking, planning and praying for peace on that first day of the Summit Conference.

It was in this context that I met Mr. Chou En-lai. He received me with a quiet, friendly dignity, wishing me a Happy New Year in English. I explained that in coming to meet him I did not regard myself as representative of any particular nation.

### Principles of co-existence

Mr. Chou En-lai opened the conversation by emphasising his and his country's firm commitment to the principle of co-existence:

"We believe our political and social system best meets the needs of our nation, but we have no desire to export it by revolution. The basis of co-existence is recognition of the need to tolerate different ways of thinking. Would you suppose there are no different lines of thought within our country? Of course there are. How much more necessary is it that we should learn to live with different ways of thinking in countries outside China. Co-existence must be accepted as a pre-condition for world peace."

Mr. Chou En-lai then touched upon the population question: "Many people are saying that China is a threat to world peace because of her growing population. That is quite untrue. China needs peace today as

ANTHONY BROOKE, Rajamuda of the former State of Sarawak and nephew of the last White Rajah of Sarawak, is expected in London today at the end of a one-man goodwill mission.

In the course of his travels round the world he has met many statesmen and notable people, among them Charles Malik, Pandit Nehru, Vinoba Bhave and Chou En-lai. He has also spoken to many national Fellowship of Reconciliation groups.

individuals and groups, irrespective of creed or nationality, working together to make that vision a reality.

## Disarmament

EVERY ONE IS  
TALKING ABOUT IT

Ten Nations Committee

March 14

Summit Talks

May 16

Central Hall Meeting

March 31

The pacifist case for unilateral disarmament will be ably stated on March 31 1960 at 8 p.m.

Central Hall, Westminster.

VICTOR GOLLANZ is not only a well known progressive publisher; he is a Jew who has openly declared for pacifism.

MICHAEL TIPPETT'S reputation as a composer is international; his new opera is to be presented at the new Coventry Cathedral at the end of the year. He went to prison as a conscientious objector in the second world war, and has given his name willingly as sponsor of, and now President of, the Peace Pledge Union.

DONALD SOPER'S prowess in persistently and consistently taking on all comers at Hyde Park every Sunday, and on the wall at Tower Hill every Wednesday, is famous. A "bonny fighter" and a great Christian,

SYBIL THORNDIKE, who in her last appearance in a play in London written

### Two kinds of peace talk

In the course of his remarks Mr. Chou said that he must differentiate between the two kinds of peacemakers—those who professed peace and whose deeds were in line with their words, and those who talked peace while acting as though preparing for war. 1

veteran American pacifists, who were among the members of the Sahara Protest Team, have cabled their acceptance of the invitation.

Among the organisations and journals in Britain that will be represented are the Africa Bureau, the Committee of African Organisations, London University Africa Society, Movement for Colonial Freedom, New Left Review and Peace News. Arlo Tatum of the War Resisters' International, and April Carter, secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, also hope to attend.

• A six-minute 60-millimetre film of the Sahara A-protest is now available from Eric Walker, 154 Corbyn St., London, N.4.

## ALDERMASTON MARCH 1960

Important preliminary meeting for

### PEACE NEWS MARCHERS

at 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.  
(near King's Cross Station)

on Friday, April 1, 7 p.m.

Tea and biscuits from 6.30 p.m.

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Chair: Hugh Brock

All Peace News readers welcome

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Easter 1960

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Yankee-doodle

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FR 2183

system best meets the needs of our nation, but we have no desire to export it by revolution. The basis of co-existence is recognition of the need to tolerate different ways of thinking. Would you suppose there are no different lines of thought within our country? Of course there are. How much more necessary is it that we should learn to live with different ways of thinking in countries outside China. Co-existence must be accepted as a pre-condition for world peace."

Mr. Chou En-lai then touched upon the population question: "Many people are saying that China is a threat to world peace because of her growing population. That is quite untrue. China needs peace today as much as any country in the world, for her vast programme of internal reconstruction

and maintain agreement and understanding. An immediate goal, however, was a ring round the world of peace meetings on May 16 to engender a spirit of universal goodwill while the Summit Conference was in session. Would Mr. Chou consider the possibility of such a meeting being held in Peking? Mr. Chou said that would have to be a matter for discussion.

## Two kinds of peace talk

In the course of his remarks Mr. Chou said that he must differentiate between the two kinds of peacemakers—those who professed peace and whose deeds were in line with their words, and those who talked peace while acting as though preparing for war. I agreed, adding that if fear and mistrust were to cease there must be an end of anti-capitalist talk in the Communist countries and of anti-Communist talk in the capitalist countries.

Mr. Chou made no comment on this, but towards the end of our meeting expressed his warm support for Mr. Khrushchev's plan for total world disarmament, and for the proposals for aid "without strings" to under-developed countries. He also expressed the hope that I would come to China again, and this I hope to do in 1961.

In the self-righteous condemnation by one ideological system of another we tend to forget that all human beings have inner contradictions which make it difficult consistently to live up to what we preach, and our governments reflect our personal dilemma.

But the world is one and peace is indivisible, and we banish all ideas of realism if we talk of peace while condoning the isolation, by a large section of the world, of a great and growing nation of 650 million people, excluding their leaders from the councils of the nations.

## Eisenhower's bon mot

The situation remains explosive while there exists within each bloc a justifiable fear that the leaders of the other bloc may be talking peace while preparing for war and world domination.

President Eisenhower expressed a vital truth when, in a broadcast in England, he said he believed that in the long run the people "are going to do more to promote peace than their governments, and that they want peace so badly that the governments had better get out of the way and let them have it."

I believe that the people are getting tired of the inflammatory propaganda that stems from both sources, and that within this decade we shall see a growing number of

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SYBIL THORNDIKE, who in her last appearance in a play in London written specially to celebrate the Golden Jubilee on the stage of herself and her husband, Lewis Casson, received an ovation every evening that few famous people have known. It was a spontaneous greeting richly compounded of admiration and affection. She has endeared herself to the British public because she is a great actor and a great human being.

STUART MORRIS is General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, to which organisation he has devoted his great gifts ever since the day that Dick Sheppard, its Founder, died.

SYBIL MORRISON, who will chair the meeting, is well known to Peace News readers for her weekly column, and as the National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER, which is the pledge members of the Peace Pledge Union take, is a personal decision to disarm unilaterally. At this time, when all Governments are talking of disarmament in realistic terms, the moment is opportune for a great campaign to persuade people to accept the moral challenge to

## let it begin with us

This is the slogan of the Central Hall Meeting. This is the time for pacifists to rally to that call.

POSTER PARADES to advertise the meeting will start from 6 Endsleigh Street at 6 p.m. on Wed., March 23, and Friday, March 25. Volunteers are wanted for these and to distribute leaflets at London Underground stations on March 28, 29 and 30.

PPU 6, Endsleigh Street, London W.C.I

18, 1960 6d.

US Air Express  
Edition 10 cents

ENT TALKS OPEN

**Ian urged  
the Lot'**

World be announcing that Britain within the next four years, or possibly possible."

The British Peace Pledge Union to give of the meeting of the 10-Power at Geneva this

and for total called a mass Westminster, at which the Donald Soper, I Tippett.

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**ATO**

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Local CND Sec-  
retary Mrs. Mar-  
jorie Collingwood, of Hertford Rd., N.2, has written to the Finchley Press saying she

# CIVIL DEFENCE 'A MONSTROUS FRAUD' RATEPAYER SUES COUNCIL

Local government authorities in Britain are worried at the prospect of a revolt by ratepayers against useless expenditure on Civil Defence. Peace News reports below the courageous stand being made by individuals in Britain and the USA. They may well be the first wave of a new civil disobedience campaign.

**MICHAEL BARCLAY, A CIVIL ENGINEER, HAS SUED HAMPSTEAD BOROUGH COUNCIL DEMANDING THE REFUND OF 2s. 2d., THE PORTION OF HIS RATE PAYMENT WHICH GOES ON CIVIL DEFENCE.**

In a statement to Peace News on Monday he said:

"Civil Defence is a monstrous fraud designed to deceive the public into believing that there is some defence against nuclear weapons."

A first public hearing of the case will take place at Bloomsbury County Court on Monday, May 23.

At an earlier hearing at the same court the Council's application to have the case struck out on technical legal grounds was refused by the Court Registrar. The Council then briefed a rating specialist and called in the Home Office. They appealed against the Registrar's decision which was none the less upheld by a Judge in Chambers.

## One Bomb attack

In order to satisfy the Council's demand for further and better particulars regarding his case Mr. Barclay declared he would rely on details from Government and other official documents to show how ineffective would be the Council's Civil Defence services in the event of an H-bomb attack.

In practice Civil Defence plans were based on the assumption that only one Bomb would be dropped. According to the Holifield Report, 1959, published by the US Government, a medium A-bomb attack would destroy one quarter of the population in the USA. Many people especially in rural areas would survive if they had fallout shelters.

The density of Britain's population is, however, nearly 20 times greater than that of the USA.

In Britain relief services would no longer function and life would become impossible because of

1. The effects of initial blast.
2. Lethal radio-active fall-out covering most of the country.
3. Epidemics arising from the disruption



**Michael Barclay**

national dailies and will, no doubt, receive more on May 23. This has, however, been achieved at considerable cost. If the case is won, costs for Mr. Barclay will amount to about £100. If it is lost, costs against him may be anything up to £300.



**Norman Wallace**

three parts:

1. Activities of the six people who were imprisoned on Dec. 15, 1959, and the impact this made;

2. Reports of the Harrington demonstration on Jan. 2, of the Northampton Court proceedings on Jan. 6, and of the two press conferences;

3. Various discussions during the subsequent six weeks.

In principle this can also be divided into three:

(a) How far did we succeed in getting across to the public that non-violent resistance on a national scale offers an alternative to military attempts to solve conflicts? What did we learn about breaking the law and about the role of the police?

(b) Was it shown that the discovery of nuclear energy could be used to remove the bases of economic conflict?

(c) How far has our movement been strengthened or weakened?

## Preliminary publicity up to December 15

Public meetings in the North of England were addressed by Pat Arrowsmith and reported in the local press in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Belfast. The Bolton Evening News, for example, on December 9, quoted her as saying that at Harrington the aim would be to "reclaim the ground symbolically." This intention, referred to in the leaflets, the distribution of which precipitated the imprisonment, was taken at the Briefing Conference to indicate the principle upon which the demonstration should be conducted.

At Marylebone Court on Dec. 15 the Six were committed to two months imprisonment under the Justices of the Peace Act of 1361, because they urged people to break the law and refused to be bound over.

"I am sorry to have to deal in this way," said the magistrate, Sir Laurence Dunne, "with people who are most estimable citizens."

The facts of the case were widely reported in the national press, including the Dublin Irish Times, and in the local papers of the prisoners' home towns. In the Evening Standard appeared Vicky's "Breach of the peace" cartoon, showing a policeman holding up Father Christmas.

taking required of them... .

The Observer, in its leader of Jan. 3, arguing for a revision of the 1361 Act, said political demonstrations should be allowed to take place unless they seemed likely to provoke serious crimes or riots, in which case the police were well able to handle offenders by normal methods.

A motion for permission to introduce a Bill to repeal the 1361 Act, introduced by Leslie Hale MP on Jan. 26, was defeated.

## The first 7 days of 1960

Of the influential news media, the best for accurate reporting and informed editorials and discussion were the Guardian, the Observer and ITV.



Tents are pitched and arrests start at Harrington rocket base on January 2.  
Photo: Austin Underwood

Saturday, Jan. 2, ITV News showed an 80 second film of demonstrators leaving Rothwell, arriving and pitching tents at the rocket base. At 5.45 p.m. this was item five, at 8.55 p.m. it was item one. BBC Sound News gave an accurate and concise account at 6.0 p.m. and 9.0 p.m. of the afternoon's events; on Sunday, Jan. 3, 1.0 p.m., and Wednesday, Jan. 6, 6.0 p.m. and 9.0 p.m. gave a summary of the Northampton Court proceedings.

BBC TV (Saturday, Jan. 2) incorporated the film with the same news bulletin as was given on sound.

Sunday, Jan. 3: Observer: Very fair, full and correct account by Mark Arnold Forster on front page. London editions also carried large front page photo of tent pitchers.

Press conferences

Of the two press conferences held during this period the one reported on Friday, Jan. 1, was held in London and chaired by Terence Chivers of Peace News.

This was successful in three ways: it enabled the chairman to explain that DA breaks the law in order to show up the violence that the law permits; discussion of the aims and methods of the demonstration enabled the Observer and Guardian reporters to write their understanding accounts two days later. An exception to this was the Daily Herald, whose reporter took great pains to acquaint himself with the principles and methods of DA but whose editor seems to have mauled his scripts.

(Pankhurst, militant). "The direct action method was highly effective in getting publicity, if only sufficient volunteer martyrs are available at regular intervals."

Critic's assumption is that civil disobedience is only a means of publicity. He does not envisage war work being brought to a standstill by non-violent resistance or a general strike. In this respect Laurens Otter was right: Harrington was neither violent nor non-violent, but a violent (PN, Feb. 5). Nevertheless, campaigners may have something to learn from the Suffragettes' struggle.

## Successes and failures

Time and Tide, on Jan. 9, commented on the "odd gentleness" of the Northampton incidents, which "could hardly have had a counterpart in any other part of the world." In the Friend, the Quaker weekly, Malcolm Clarke wrote that direct action had set him "wondering about the adequacy of his own protest" which had hitherto been on constitutional lines. Philip Seed (Feb. 19) said an essential ingredient of direct action should be a "standard of absolute respect for all people." Richard Ullmann feared that direct action may tend to "destroy that moral sensitivity which is the condition for the salvation of human society through the abolition of war."

Elsewhere there had been complaints that Harrington lacked the element of "penitential suffering." These would seem to be an example of an aggressive super-ego turned inwards, described by Flugel in "Man, Morals and Society." Let us have recourse, however, to another psychologist, William James, who in his essay on the "Moral Equivalent of War," many years ago showed that some way must be found, perhaps in opposition to war itself, to engender those qualities of endurance and courage which were demanded on the battlefield, and hitherto provided a motive for perpetuating war as an institution of civilisation.

In conclusion it may be said that our movement has been strengthened, that we understand better the rôle of the police and the meaning of law-breaking, that we shouted an emphatic "NO" to nuclear weapons which rang round the country.

The imprisonment of the Six heightened appreciation of their previous example and type of leadership, and led to the formation of other teams in Yorkshire and London capable of mounting civil disobedience projects on a national scale.

The committee now has available the personnel to work on other plans, including political action, and international action in Sahara and, say Germany.

It is now recognised that the Campaign